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Progress During the Year.

It is difficult to determine the relative value of events as they take place. This is as true of occurrences in the peace movement as elsewhere. We have, however, little reason to doubt that when time enough has passed to give a true perspective, the year just closing will rank as a very important one in respect of events marking the progress of the peace cause. Grounds for discouragement have certainly not been wanting. All know what they are, and how heavily they have weighed at times upon the minds of those who had believed that the civilized world was already safely past the possibility of such debasement. But, while evil has abounded, in intense and headstrong fashion, good has more abounded, and steadily and unremittingly pushed its way to the front.

The peace societies have never carried on a more active and vigorous campaign than during the past twelve months. Their number has increased until there are now, including branches, about four hundred and fifty of them. They have persisted in uttering their message, and in a direct and most practical way. They have made their protest not only against war in general, but they have not allowed censure, contempt or ridicule to drive them from expressing their condemnation of the particular wars now disgracing the world.

Many important meetings, conferences and congresses have occurred in the twelvemonth. In France the most notable meeting ever held in the nation, with the exception of the international congresses, took place in February, when all the French members of the Hague Court were present and Mr. Léon Bourgeois, head of the French delegation to the Hague Peace Conference, presided.

The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, now so powerful in its work in this country, never before had so large an attendance as at its session the last of May, and ten thousand copies of its report have been distributed to editors, public and college libraries, etc. Mr. Smiley decided this year for the first time to widen and strengthen this work by the employment of a permanent general secretary of the conference.

In July a peace congress of the Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, was held at Skien, Norway. It was attended by forty-one delegates from Norway, thirty from Denmark, twenty-one from Sweden, and two from Finland. Among its resolutions, the most important was one urging an alliance for peace and arbitration of the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and a declaration on their part of permanent neutrality.

In Italy an event of unusual promise was the recent interview granted by the young King, on his visit to Milan, to representatives of the Lombard Peace Union, the most powerful of the peace associations in the peninsula. The memorial presented to the King on this occasion we give in full in this issue. The reception accorded the representatives of the Union was most cordial, and King Victor Emanuel III. declared himself in hearty sympathy with the essential aims of the friends of peace in his country. Some really important step may reasonably be expected from him, we think, in the near future.

We need only mention in this connection the two congresses held at Glasgow during the course of the Exposition, the Twentieth International Law Conference and the Tenth International Peace Congress, reports of both of which have occupied so much of the space of our recent issues. The former was presided over by Lord Chief Justice Alverstone (formerly Sir Richard Webster), and the principal discussion of the entire three days was that on the question of international arbitration treaties as sup-

plementary to the Hague Convention. The Peace Congress, at which delegates from a dozen countries were present, continued its work for four days, covering with its discussions and resolutions all the most important phases of the question of peace and arbitration, and sending out at its close a strong appeal to the nations in behalf of concord and cooperation as the basis of all real prosperity. The reception of both these congresses by the city of Glasgow was most generous and appreciative.

In the political field the chief event of the year bearing upon the peace movement was of course the completion and proclamation to the world of the Hague Court. Quietly as the full-orbed sun rises, this greatest of the world's political institutions came officially into existence on the 9th of April, with judges from sixteen nations on its roster, and ready to take in hand any controversies, great or small, that might thereafter be referred to it. Since that date three other powers have chosen their members of the Court, making nineteen in all. It is questionable whether any year hereafter will see an essentially greater political event than this; it is certain that no previous one has seen its equal.

The second most significant occurrence in the line of peace in the international field was the meeting of the representatives of the nineteen American republics now assembled in the City of Mexico. With entire propriety this Congress may be called a peace congress. The two most prominent subjects before it are those of a general arbitration treaty and an American International Court of Claims, both of which have intimate relation to the peace and friendship of these nineteen states. It is pretty certain also, from present indications, that whatever may come of the great railway scheme and other projects before the Congress, the efforts made to devise an arbitration system and a general American Court of Claims will result successfully. This would be another attainment of the first order.

This sketch of the more salient features of the progress of the peace propaganda during the year might be filled in with very many interesting and impressive happenings of a less prominent character, which after all constitute the body of the movement and furnish even stronger ground for encouragement and hope. But what we have given is sufficient to show clearly that, after making due allowance for untoward events, the cause of peace has this year reached a position of permanency, strength and public confidence entirely beyond that of any previous time.

There is, to be sure, a long and difficult task before us, but we have abundant reason to feel profound gratitude and to go forward in our work with a triumphing faith that the abolition of war is certain to come and that the day is not far off.

Modern Diplomacy.

The most important word in regard to international affairs uttered by any public man recently was that of Secretary Hay, on diplomacy, at the annual banquet of the New York Chamber of Commerce, on the evening of November 19. It was an utterance greatly needed just now, and must have a world-wide influence, coming from a statesman of Mr. Hay's position, experience, wisdom and high ideals. There is probably not another living public man in any country who could have said, or would have said, as much at the present moment.

Those who have studied diplomacy, particularly American diplomacy, know that it has experienced a remarkable change in recent times. It was once, as Mr. Hay says, "an occult science, as mysterious as alchemy and as dangerous to morals as municipal politics." It was "a science of intrigue and falsehood, of traps and mines and counter-mines." It was, if not the chief source of wars, the chief instrument by which they were brought about and made to seem inevitable and justifiable.

To-day, in the matter of just, honorable and harmonious international relations, diplomacy — particular cases of woful failure aside — is on the whole permeated by a much better spirit and is really in advance of public sentiment. This is certainly true of American diplomacy, which in its hundred years and more of history has been a large part of the time in the hands of the ablest and truest of our statesmen, whose conceptions of political principles and obligations have been such as to make them incapable of the back-stairs' intrigues and base deceptions of the old diplomacy.

Mr. Hay declares that the record of American diplomacy, especially during the years of his personal acquaintance with it, has been one of frankness and sincerity. Still more significant is his assertion that during the time in which he has been prominently concerned in our foreign relations we have been met by the representatives of other powers in the same spirit of frankness and sincerity. This statement undoubtedly expresses the facts, and is, whether intended to be so or not, a rebuke to those of our citizens and public men who are continually manifesting suspicion towards foreign diplomats and statesmen, and mysteriously suggesting all sorts of sinister schemes on their part against our interests. Mr. Hay has been in a position to know how base and unworthy most of these insinuations have been.

In reference to our relations with the sister republics south of us,— the attitude at least which we ought to sustain toward them,— the Secretary's announcement is straight and true: "We no more want their territory than we covet the mountains in the moon. We are grieved and distressed when there are differences among them, but even then we should never

think of trying to compose any of these differences unless by the request of both parties to it. Not even our earnest desire for peace among them will lead us to any action which might offend their national dignity or their just sense of independence. We owe them all the consideration which we claim for ourselves."

We wish we could believe that Mr. Hay's "we" covered all our public men by whom at the present time the policies of the nation are made and carried out. The dread of us felt among the nations south of us — of which many rumors from time to time come to our ears — have not been altogether without justification. The grounds for this fear the Secretary evidently wished to destroy, and he has shown admirable wisdom and tact in his method of going about it. His utterances on this and other occasions have given deep satisfaction to the states south of us, and as a virtual national pledge in the name of the whole people will go far to stop the mouths of our international disturbers and to bring to nought their "cunning craftiness."

What Mr. Hay said as to our general international relations was not less timely and appropriate. "We have striven," he declared, "on the lines laid down by Washington [how the shade of Washington must rejoice to be once more thought of], to cultivate friendly relations with all powers, but not to take part in the formation of groups and combinations among them. A position of complete independence is not incompatible with relations involving not friendship alone, but concurrent action as well, in important emergencies. We have kept always in view the fact that we are preëminently a peace-loving people; that our normal activities are in the direction of trade and commerce."

"It is for this reason," he says, "we have negotiated the treaties of reciprocity which now await the action of the Senate; all of them conceived in the traditional American spirit of protection to our industries, and yet mutually advantageous to ourselves and our neighbors. In the same spirit we have sought successfully to induce all the great powers to unite in a recognition of the general principle of equality of commercial access and opportunity in the markets of the Orient. We believe that 'a fair field and no favor' is all we require; and with less than that we cannot be satisfied. If we accept the assurances we have received as honest and genuine, as I certainly do, that equality will not be denied us."

With Mr. Hay's view of some of the special cases which he cites, in which he thinks this noble policy has been carried out, if that is what he meant to say, we should have to differ with him. The less that is said about Providence having got us into the Philippines, the more creditable both to Providence and our own intelligence. If Mr. Hay had been himself earlier in his present position, Providence would, doubtless, have moved on altogether different lines. Nor are we quite able to understand his association of the Golden Rule and the Monroe Doctrine as the chart of our international proceeding, unless his interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine is something out of the ordinary. Possibly he was joking. Many of the nations south of us have a pretty strong suspicion that the Monroe Doctrine is shouted for by us much more in our own interests than in theirs. We shall be greatly indebted to Mr. Hay if he can remove from the Monroe Doctrine all but the Golden Rule part of it; which is probably what he was trying to do.

The delicate instruction which he gives to President Roosevelt, in expressing his confidence in him, is capital. "The President . . . is as incapable of bullying a strong power as he is of wrongdoing to a weak one." Speaking of the nation's consciousness of its strength, he maintains that "that consciousness of strength brings with it no temptation to do injury to any power on earth, the proudest or the humblest. We frankly confess we seek the friendship of all the powers. We want to trade with all peoples. We are conscious of resources that will make our commerce a source of advantage to them and of profit to ourselves. But no wantonness of strength will ever induce us to drive a hard bargain with another nation because it is weak, nor will any fear of ignoble criticism tempt us to insult or defy a great power because it is strong, or even because it is friendly."

How much there is, both of reproof and instruction, behind these superb utterances! The speech is luminous with truth and American to the core. Beside it how pitiable seems much of the twaddle which one hears about "invading" and "capturing" the markets of the world, about war as the inevitable result of economic development, about the impending danger of attack from abroad, and the need of a great navy to keep other powers from our throats, about enemies, enemies, enemies of us and our institutions everywhere!

This single discourse is worth more towards keeping us out of war, giving us a position of world influence, and enabling us to maintain profitable and honorable relations with other nations, than the entire army and navy establishments twice over. How quickly foreign nations have responded to the confidence in them expressed by the Secretary of State! We hope "with a great hope" that the generous, statesmanlike policy, which he has so admirably sketched, may begin at once to prevail more fully in all the foreign conduct of the nation, and that the confidence in the unselfish purposes of our people which he expresses may not prove to be largely the mere creation of his own wish.

What Shall We Do with Jesus?

We shall soon be celebrating, or pretending to celebrate, the birth of Jesus Christ. When one thinks seriously of the coming Christmas festival, with its gifts and joyous greetings, its groups of happy children and its blissful homes, and at the same time recalls some things which are going on in the world, done by the authority of so-called Christian governments and upheld by millions of professedly Christian people, one can with difficulty refrain from ejaculating, "Mockery! Mockery!"

We read the other day of a unique Christmas greeting sent last year by a British color-sergeant in Central Africa to his messmates. Taking a Martini-Henry cartridge wrapper, he wrote on it before sending it to his comrades: "Color-sergeant Ellison wishes the members of the sergeants' mess a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. This paper contained ten cartridges, which killed ten men of the tribe of Unyoro yesterday." The blood of the poor blacks was not yet dried up whom these ten balls had killed!

The naïveness of this color-sergeant is something unusually delicious. It is doubtful if any of his Christian backers in England were pleased with his frank and perfectly consistent act. It did not occur to him, seemingly, that he was doing anything coarse or in the least offensive to even the most refined Christian sensibilities. He had carried the "Christian" theory of war as a righteous, benevolent and "self-sacrificing" thing to its natural conclusions.

But most Christian people, even those whose Christianity does not sit very solidly on them, on reading of this incident, will turn away from it as brutal and loathsome. But why should they? At any rate, why should those who uphold war as a good Christian thing, and who believe that their governments are engaged in a work of Christian civilization in annihilating Boers or ridding humanity of savages and heathen in various parts of the earth? If wars on native and backward races are right for Christian governments, then this color-sergeant was doing a most seemly Christmas deed. It was a very proper matter of rejoicing that he, or those with him, had been able to accomplish so commendable a portion of the "noble" task appointed them.

What is the meaning of Christmas, — going beneath the surface and getting at that which is deepest and truest in it? The angels sang "Glory to God in the highest" because One was born who was to turn away from all the ordinary selfish standards of life as worthless; who was to make love and good will the central motives of the new order; to teach the world to abandon all resort to violence as unworthy of men; and finally to give himself in total sacrifice that he might thereby move men to repentance and a new life of love to God and devotion to the good of others, and thus save them from self-seeking and self-rooted wickedness. The Christmas festival is the festival of the birth of love, and of a kingdom of loving, coöperating men founded thereon.

Whoever, therefore, approaches the day with a sense of its true meaning must feel in his heart a loathing for war, and anguish because of its horrible deaths, its sufferings of the innocent and helpless, its desolations, and the deep and lasting hatreds which it engenders. Something of this feeling we are sure is always in the hearts of most of the professed followers of Jesus, when they turn their faces from Christmas scenes and thoughts to the sad inhuman spectacles created by war. The feeling may be only superficial and temporary; it is often, we fear, quickly stifled; it may be narrow and incomprehensive, reaching only to the "ours" and not to all involved,— but it is usually there — certainly there if there is any genuine Christianity in the heart.

However the followers of Jesus may pervert and twist their consciences at ordinary times and try to convince themselves that the slaying, treading down and "wiping out" of their fellow-men, of whatever race or clime, are right and pleasing to him, they cannot entertain the real Christmas thoughts without serious doubts of the correctness of their arguments and their excuses for violence.

A well-known and popular writer recently wrote, in reply to criticisms, that "the Christian nations uphold standing armies whose object and business it is to do precisely that which He said should not be done." An increasing number of thinking men and women are coming to this conclusion, and are challenging the right of these nations to apply to themselves the title of Christian unless they are willing to abandon their manifestly unchristian deeds. When Lord Roberts was years ago ravaging the Afghan regions, John Bright used to stand up and with flaming eloquence beg of his country in the name of common honesty to be consistent and either abandon its unchristian deeds or give up its pretensions of being Christian.

Every returning Christmas is a fresh challenge to Christian peoples to "lay down their arms," to put away all hatred and jealousy of one another, and to begin to serve one another in the spirit which animated and controlled, to the last and smallest thought and action, the life of Him whom they claim as their Master and Lord. It is perilous to nations as to individuals to play the hypocrite. It is even more perilous to trample upon and crush the real life that is within them.

What shall we do, what shall the nations do, with Jesus? His fame is everywhere. His principles are on many lips. Great enterprises are undertaken in His name. This Christmas time again brings the question of choice more urgently than ever. Christ or Moloch, which shall it be? Cæsar or the Prince of Peace?

Editorial Notes.

Pan-American Conference.

The reports that come from the city of Mexico indicate that on the whole the Conference is making good progress with its labors. The month of November has been spent in committee work on the various subjects before the delegates. Only partial reports of the work of the committees have yet been made to the full body. Considerable progress has been made in the development of a plan for a court of claims. Mr. Davis has also gotten the report on the subject of a Pan-American railway well along. The subject of arbitration is meeting with the greatest difficulty, on account of the hitherto irreconcilable views held by Chile on the one hand and Peru on the other. The Congress seems to be a good deal split up on the scope of arbitration. Chile, with one or two followers, is strongly opposed to compulsory arbitration of any sort. Other republics are equally anxious that any scheme that may be adopted shall make arbitration compulsory in all cases past and future. Mexico is making strenuous efforts to secure unity and harmony, and has submitted a plan which makes arbitration compulsory for all cases except those now pending. Chile is opposed to this plan, and at this writing there seems no way forward, unless all the delegates shall finally agree to abandon all attempts at an obligatory system, and agree upon voluntary arbitration, as was done at The Hague. In this case it is to be hoped that they will decide to put the Hague court into their convention. The correspondents declare that the South American states have sent very able men to the Conference. There have been banquets and excursions, and a number of flattering references have been made in public to the United States. It is intimated, however, that the delegates generally have no very great confidence in the disinterested benevolence of the great republic north of them. In Secretary Hay, nevertheless, they have expressed the highest and most sincere confidence.

Isthmian Distractions.

In spite of the serious and somewhat critical situation of affairs on the Isthmus of Panama during the past few weeks, there has been about them an element of grim comicality. The stopping of the terrifi cfighting between the government troops and the revolutionists along the railway, in order to let the trains go by in safety, reminds one of former incidents in the streets of Paris, described by Victor Hugo, when those who were shooting each other to death reverently stopped their bloody "distraction" to let a funeral cortege pass. The grotesque absurdities into which war, on a great or a small scale, brings people are, however, so many and so extraordinary that one ought not, we suppose, to be surprised at any special exhibition of bizarreness. If it were not for the monstrous wickedness of the thing, the whole civilized world would be laughing so as almost to shake the vault of heaven at the sight of the great ten-foot British giant trying to catch and decapitate the Boer pigmy in South Africa. How the foreign warships hanging about Colon — we mean, of course, the men of the ships — must have enjoyed the diminutive sport of the Colombian fighters! Some of them, after riding by on the train, probably said to one another, as one American commander did to another after the awful naval battle of Santiago: "A nice fight, wasn't it, Jack?" The curtain seems to have been rung down, for the time being, on this isthmian murder bouffe. Colon, which they had taken possession of, has been surrendered by the revolutionists to the government commander, governor of the district of Panama. The surrender was made through the commanders of the United States, British and French warships, through whom the capitulation had been arranged, Captain Perry of the Iowa playing the leading rôle. When the "ceremony" was over, the Colombian warship, "General Pinzon," blew her siren in celebration of the surrender. Meanwhile, out of seven hundred troops engaged on the government side and two hundred on the revolutionist, three hundred and fifty were lying dead or wounded about the town. There was no "ceremony" over these poor dead fellows. A good many things are "said" about the immediate future of isthmian affairs; but what will happen only God and the "expansion" promoters know. The "most positive and definite assurances" have been given the Colombian government from Washington that no conquest of the isthmus will be made, that the blue jackets will be withdrawn as soon as order is fully restored. The United States warships on both sides of the isthmus, "it is said," will then withdraw. We hope all these solemn promises may be kept better than even more solemn ones made at the opening of the Spanish war have been observed, and that the next scene in the isthmian drama may not be a forcible annexation act, with the United States the principal actor.

The Hague Court.

It has been frequently claimed by people who ought to have reasoned better that the Hague Peace Conference has proved a flat failure, because the Permanent Court of Arbitration set up by it has not yet settled any cases of dispute and prevented the wars which have since occurred. Reference to the early history of the Supreme Court of the United States is interesting in this connection. Of the slowness with which this great tribunal began its work and secured the confidence of the original thirteen states, Dr. Edward Everett Hale gives the following interesting account in an article on the Hague Court in the *Christian Endeavor World* for November 7:

"The Supreme Court of the United States was organized by an act of the first Congress. Under the terms of the act it met for the first session in February, 1790. The commissions of four justices were read and that of the attorney-general. Thus the Court organized itself. No other business was brought before it, and it adjourned.

"In August of the same year Judge Iredell appeared and was qualified, and the Court adjourned. The next February the Court met for the third time; it qualified several counselors and attorneys, and adjourned. It met again in August, 1791, and heard a motion relating to a writ of error. It ordered that such writs could come only from its own office. It also appointed a commission to hear testimony in Holland. This was all it did. At the February term in 1792 no business was done.

"So it was not until the August term of 1792, two years and a half after the first meeting of the tribunal (about three years from the time of its establishment), that the first case was brought before it for trial. This was the case, now celebrated and important, of the state of Georgia *vs.* Brailford. It will be seen thus that two years and a half passed before states or individuals brought subjects of trial before a court which has since been so celebrated.

"Now in the case of the Supreme Court of Christendom, the tribunal, though it has existed only eight months, has already shown its power. Courts exist and do their work silently. In the case of the Hague tribunal, in two separate cases, both of importance, the parties in controversy have been, so to speak, compelled to adjust their difficulty because one party did not venture to argue the case before the high tribunal. And it is well known that preparations are in progress to bring other cases before it."

Prevention of Assassination.

The *Troy Press* (Troy, N. Y.) for November 7, after quoting a lengthy passage from the editorial in our October number on "Assassination and Anarchy," proceeds to comment appreciatively on it as follows:

"This is treating the subject of assassination from an enlightened and practicable instead of from a vengeful or demagogic point of view. The argument given is temperate, thoughtful and powerful, and must appeal to thinking minds. It soberly presents the folly of extreme laws which do a thousandfold more harm than good, citing Europe in practical proof of the correctness of its conclusions, and points the way to peace, security, progress, the regenerative instead of revengeful method of prevention, and, in brief, to a nobler and sweeter civilization. The article we quote from our pacific contemporary is full of wisdom, suggestion and the soundest statesmanship, and the lessons it teaches should not be lightly dismissed by our readers.

"For the first three-quarters of a century of its existence, the United States was the most pacific of all important nations. Within this long stretch of history no president was assassinated, and with a single exception no attempt was made upon the life of a president. Mark well the exception! Andrew Jackson was the most warlike and pugnacious of any of the presidents during that period, and somebody tried to kill him. But the Civil War roused the military spirit to its highest tension, and among the bloody results was the assassination of President Lincoln, one of the grandest men that ever breathed the air of freedom. General Garfield was a victim of that anarchy-breeder known as the spoils system. The terrible contentions over the distribution of offices and patronage inflamed popular passions, and one half-crazed office seeker, goaded to desperation by his disappointment, assassinated the President. McKinley's was the first belligerent administration since Lincoln's. More soldiery, more warships, more military agitation and more talk of great armies and navies than before for a generation. The war-spirit was rampant, and it is a breeder of anarchy. President McKinley, personally full of magnanimity and loving kindness, and crowded into belligerent policies by influential statesmen and public clamor against his will, lost his life in consequence.

"No othery agency advanced for the abolition of assassination will prove so effective as the policy admirably outlined by the ADVOCATE OF PEACE."

"Structural Weakness."

It is not long since the British torpedo-boat-destroyer "Cobra" sank, causing great loss of life. Soon afterward the "Crane," a similar boat, in making a trip from Portsmouth to Portland, was found to be "buckling" in the middle of her deck beams, and had immediately to put back to save herself from breaking in two, as the "Cobra" had done. In the construction of these boats the insanity or wickedness, whichever one pleases to call it, of trying to outdo others in making the speediest and deadliest instruments of destruction has gone to about its utmost limits. Even the designers of these destroyers seem to have lost their heads, as appears from the fact that the boats are made so weak as to break in two on an ordinary run without a shot being fired at them. In any other line of construction both the designers and the committees giving the orders would be hauled before the courts for criminal incapacity, on the strength of such a disaster as the breaking in two of the "Cobra" caused. The loss of two or three lives in the collapse of a building brings the constructors up for an investigation, but the war system "covers a multitude of sins" and lets the war people off scot-free. The "Cobra" perishes with all on board, but nobody makes any stir about it. It is a simple incident in the training and preparing for the wholesale slaughter of men. This preparation is right; all sorts of dangerous experimentation in it are right; therefore such loss of life is a matter of no significance. It is the natural thing, and it would be unpatriotic in the highest degree to make any outcry about it. This is the way the upholders of war reason about the subject. Structural weakness! that was assigned as the cause of the collapse of the "Cobra." It is amazing beyond comprehension that the "structural weakness" of the whole system of war, and of the argument in its support, has not long ago become manifest to

all sensible men. There is not a sound, strong plank or steel bar in the whole thing. One of these days the people will see this, and then the whole system will collapse and go to the bottom with all on board.

France and Turkey.

Diplomatic relations between France and Turkey, which had been suddenly broken off by the withdrawal of the French minister from Constantinople on account of the delay of the Sultan in settling claims and fulfilling pledges of long standing, have been resumed. The seizure of three ports in the island of Mytilene by a French fleet induced the Sultan at once to find a way of carrying out his pledges. No international complications have arisen out of the incident. In their replies to the French government's note explaining the measures taken against Turkey, the powers showed no disposition to interfere in any way. In response to a note of the United States asking for an explanation of her intentions in occupying the island of Mytilene, France satisfied our government that she had no intention of permanently holding the island. After the Sultan had signed an irade for the execution of his engagements with the French government, the incident was declared ended and instructions were sent to the French admiral to reëmbark his marines and leave Mytilene. It is a satisfaction to see closed an incident which might, with the display of a little unwisdom on the part of any one of several powers, have set all Europe on fire. This incident presents a striking contrast to the proceeding in the affair of the Armenian massacres. In this case financial considerations and "national prestige" were the motives which induced the French government to move vigorously. And the powers appreciated these motives and allowed the French government to act. In the Armenian matter, when a whole people was being massacred and the interests were of a high moral order, not one of the great armed powers cared or dared to move a finger. They stood and snarled at each other like a lot of angry dogs. It is a painful illustration of the fact that the organization of brute force, on no matter how great a scale, while it develops and intensifies sensitiveness to self-interest and prestige, deadens interest in real humanity and concern for the welfare of those whom violence is treading in the dust.

Japan and Russia.

The *Indépendance Belge* recently published an interview with Professor Michel Revon of the Sorbonne, in regard to the probability of an early war between Japan and Russia. Mr. Revon, the author of the work on "International Arbitration" which was crowned by the Institute of France, was seven years professor in the Imperial University at Tokio and legal adviser of the Japanese government. He does not believe that a conflict between Japan and Russia is imminent. Japan needs peace. Her great armaments are not intended for aggression. "Many Japanese statesmen," he says, "believe that the army has already become too great for the defensive needs of the country." The program of increase entered upon after the China-Japan War is now about completed. The navy program will be completed by 1906. Japan's fleet is greater than England's in the extreme East. Her army is superior to that of Russia in that region. But notwithstanding these great armaments, the young empire does not seem disposed to plunge into warlike adventure. Japan believes in the policy of the open door in China. England would like to push her to maintain this policy by force of arms. But Japanese statesmen are too intelligent to thus become the tool of England, who in case of war could not aid Japan effectively. It is beginning to be understood also in Japan that England is commercially really her only rival, while the economic interests of Japan and Russia are not contradictory. Japan, therefore, both through political sagacity and financial wisdom, will do everything possible to avoid conflict with Russia. There is an aggressive military party in Japan, but the statesmen are not disposed to follow it. Japan would rather see Russia retain Manchuria than to go to war over the matter. Baron Otori, whose opinion has great weight, believes that such an expedition would be disastrous, and Viscount Tani, whose military knowledge is very great, agrees with him. Mr. Revon concludes from all these facts that Japan will not go to war unless driven to it by Russia, and Russia he believes to be politically too wise to do this. We hope that this prognostication may prove correct, but great armaments often cause an unexpected turn in affairs which no statesman can foresee or prevent.

Native Races.

The destruction of native races still goes on in parts of the world as if they were only so much timber. A writer in the *Petite République* of Paris thus speaks of the destruction of the Hovas in Madagascar by the French, who are just now so virtuously indignant over the destruction of the Boers by the British:

"The rate of mortality among the Boer women and children shut up in the British camps is complacently cited. The *Temps*, which has published copious accounts of the investigation of the subject which has been made, is moved with virtuous indignation against such barbarity. The same sheet published last year news from Madagascar reciting deeds of cruelty of a different kind from those reported from the Transvaal.

"This had reference to the *corvées* imposed upon the Hovas for the construction of roads. Entire populations of adult workmen, forced to perform these labors, were literally mowed down and fell dead in the yards.

The mortality there was twice that of the Boer camps. And to these human hecatombs ought to have been added those resulting from the disappearance of the heads of families. The unfortunates who filled the cemeteries had wives and children who died of hunger after the father or husband had lain down forever in the French yards. How many of our fellow-citizens have stopped to consider these abominable details?

"In the iniquitous measures which are depopulating the island of Madagascar we have not even the excuse of the English in the Transvaal. The Hovas are not at war with us. These peaceful people are not in revolt. Our interests ought to prevent us from destroying them Our unconscious barbarity pays no attention to our interest.

"The census of Madagascar has just been taken again. It gives 2,200,000 native inhabitants. Now, when the expedition was sent out, Mr. Hanotaux reckoned the number of these at 7,000,000. He probably overestimated their number; but after making allowance for this, what a sacrifice of human lives does the last census show!

"Have we the right, after this, to speak of the cruelties of England?"

Murder Camps.

They are now in England calling the reconcentration camps in South Africa by their right name, murder camps. The *New Age* in a recent number speaks thus of them:

"Whether Miss Hobhouse was actually arrested in Cape Town is not certain; it is certain that she has been turned back. She sailed on the first of the month; we shall, therefore, soon know the whole story. One thing is clear, Lord Milner does not intend to let any person enter South Africa who is likely to condemn his new methods of arson, pillage and massacre. This insolent satrap, presented to us as the fine flower of Oxford culture, has assumed purely despotic power over the country he has ruined. His fall is near at hand, and he seems to know it, for his foolish talk and wild actions betray despair. We are looking forward with grave apprehensions to the next return of mortality in the murder camps. Meanwhile, we find in the *Daily News* of Saturday a fresh illustration of the terrible statistics of the camps. Had our soldiers, exposed to the hardships and privations of a campaign and the risk of violent death, been carried off at the same rate as the women and children in the camps, 113,000 would have perished in September. The general death rate in the camps for September was 264 per 1,000 for women, and 432 per 1,000 for children. In 1897, a year of plague and famine for British India, the worst annual death rate for the worst district was 69.34 per 1,000. We cannot join in attributing good intentions to the authors of this new massacre. Intention must be inferred from acts. For an uncertain period, but at least for a month, women and children were deliberately starved as a means of bringing about the surrender of the men on commando, and Mr. Brodrick lied when he was questioned in the House of Commons on the subject, as he lies to-day when he calls his murder traps refuges. Mr. Stead spoke not a whit too strongly when he said: 'Every one of these children who died as the result of the cutting down of rations by half, in order to bring pressure to bear upon their relatives in the field, was as deliberately murdered as were any of the Irish babies whom General Carey spitted in the campaign against the renegade traitors of Munster.' No, we leave apologies for this hideous crime to Mr. Price Hughes."

The Press and Peace.

There can be no doubt in the mind of any candid person that for various reasons — the financial one being fundamental — the daily press of our day, as a whole, is one of the strongest bulwarks of war and the war-spirit. In a leading article in the *Figaro* (Paris), for November 1, Max O'Rell says: "It is the American Press alone which four years ago was the cause of the war between Spain and America." It is a little too strong to say "alone," but the press everybody knows to have been the determining agency. "It is the press," he goes on to say, "which three years ago all but succeeded in provoking war between France and England, by mutual bombardment, lies, prejudice and insult. It is the press which one of these days will succeed in causing this war." He declares that the press nowadays has taken away from diplomacy some of its former functions, and thus measurably broken down its prestige. He might have said, with much greater truth, that the press by its misstatements, its perversions and fabrications, gets in the way of diplomacy in the performance of its really important duties, and often makes the successful outcome of its negotiations impossible. This is the way the press brought on the Spanish-American War. Mr. O'Rell's advice to his French newspaper colleagues, to get at least an elementary acquaintance, by visitation, with the things English, German or American, about which they write, is admirable both for its sarcasm and its sound wisdom. He guarantees that, if the men of the press in all countries worked on this plan, the peace of the world would be assured twenty years hence. There is no doubt of it, Mr. O'Rell. But if you had told us what proportion of the press desires the peace of the world, it would have thrown light on a very dark problem. It would have been still more illuminating, if you had told us how to make them desire it.

International Peace Bureau.

The International Peace Bureau at Berne, Switzerland, addressed the following letter to President Roosevelt on his coming to the presidency:

"When the news was spread of the execrable deed of which the President of the United States, the lamented McKinley, was so lately the victim, the thoughts of all the friends of the peace movement throughout the world were turned to the possible consequences which this event might have upon the political relations of the na-

tions, in which the great American Republic plays a rôle more and more important.

"The course of events and the high esteem of your fellow-citizens have called you, Mr. President, to the highest office in your country, and at the same time imposed upon you responsibilities and duties the gravity of which you have publicly pointed out. Supported by the high consideration in which you are justly held, it is within your power to contribute largely toward assuring to the nations durable peace, and thereby the future security and welfare for which they are longing.

"In presenting you, in the name of all the peace societies, our sincere congratulations on the confidence shown you by the Republic of the United States during the days of sorrow through which it has been passing, we express to you our firm expectation that your efforts for the cause of humanity will be crowned with success, and our strong hope that it may be granted to you, through many years, to carry still higher the moral renown universally attached to the name of the country of Washington."

President Roosevelt, through Secretary Hay, conveyed to the Peace Bureau his thanks for this "courteous letter" and "for the confidence which you have in him that his efforts will be put forth in the direction of peace."

Transferring Conscience.

In an estimate of Walt Whitman as an opponent of war, the *Philistine* writes as follows:

"Many people have criticised Whitman because he did not enlist and help fight his country's battles, instead of contenting himself with the rather womanish task of nursing the wounded. Whitman was a brave man, and he did not enlist simply because he had a supreme horror of war. That is, he loved the men on both sides, and loved them equally well. This being true, his soul revolted at thought of leveling a gun at a brother, and then shooting when ordered to. Whitman did not think it was necessary for men to kill other men; and he further thought that to abrogate your will and kill a man on another man's order was quite as bad as to kill a man of your own volition. The proposition of transferring conscience to an intangible thing called Government was quite as absurd to him as transferring your reasoning powers to a something called a Church — a man should be a Man. He did not believe in a man abandoning his own free-will, as a soldier must. A soldier is a slave; he does what he is told to do; everything is provided for him — his head is a superfluity. He is only a stick used by men to strike other men; and he is often tossed to hell without a second thought. The people soldiers kill are never any worse than they themselves — and very often are better. The Confederate soldiers were just as patriotic, just as sincere, just as brave, just as intelligent as were the Northern troops — everybody admits that now. For a Northern farmer who raised corn to go down South and kill a farmer who raised cotton was monstrous and absurd to Walt Whitman. And he thought that the man who killed another man was just as unfortunate as the man who got killed. There is no such thing as success in a bad business — killing men is a bad business. To kill another man means damnation for yourself — the man who kills another does kill himself. Walt Whitman looked upon every man as a part of himself, and the conviction of his life was that to injure another was to injure yourself, to help another is to help yourself."

Fighting Machines.

The *Herald of Peace* thus comments on Lord Roberts's speech at the Mansion House Volunteer banquet:

"'The chief end of man,' according to Lord Roberts, 'is to learn to shoot.' This was the doctrine promulgated by him at the Volunteer banquet at the Mansion House, where he declared that 'however good our soldiers might be, unless they could shoot they were really of little use as fighting machines.' That is a very proper doctrine on the lips of the commander-in-chief of an army. And it is really axiomatic; a killing machine is no good unless it will kill. But it is exceedingly significant in its choice of phrases. The most objectionable thing about the whole military system is its low and false estimate of humanity. Its fundamental doctrine is that the *chief* — because the *necessary* — end of man is to be a soldier; according to it men are first, and last, and only, 'fighting machines;' it has no other conception of manhood, which is reduced under its manipulation to mere mechanism. The doctrine, being fundamental, is common to militarism everywhere. For instance, a German war correspondent named Herrings, wounded at the bombardment of the Taku forts, and with his wounds still only partially healed, has been ruthlessly expelled from Prussia because he had not served his full time in the German Army, and, in a leading article on the affair, *Die Post* writes: 'When a German subject avoids *his most noble* national and social duty, namely, military service, and turns his back on the Fatherland, the latter is perfectly justified in closing its doors against such a faithless element.' Yes! it is a monstrous and most mischievous dogma that makes men only 'fighting machines.'"

New Trafalgar Square Day.

Mr. Felix Moscheles mingles wit and wisdom in about equal proportions in an article in the November number of *Concord* on the decorations this year of the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square. Alluding to the disgraceful actions of the mob in breaking up a peace meeting in the square in the early days of the South African War, he hints that it might be a good thing for the nation if the friends of peace and international justice should establish their own regular Trafalgar Square Day:

"What a pity it is that we, lovers of peace and sticklers for international justice, should not have our own regular Trafalgar Square Day! Perhaps we might select the knife-and-sundries-throwing Sunday for celebration. [Mr. Moscheles was hit in the face with a knife on that 'glorious' day.] We could certainly decorate the column as effectively as our opponents. Pictorially, perhaps, for a change. What good service we might do by depicting realities, actualities, by pointing, not to the laurel wreath that crowns the victor's brow, but to the blanched bones that are strewn around him, not to the

glories of military exploits, but to the horrors of actual warfare, to the bursting shell as it shatters, and the point of the bayonet as it pierces. Our duty it would be, our painful duty, to show the British flag, not as it is here, neatly pinned to the plinth by the decorator's hand, but mud-bespattered and bloodstained, clutched by the hand of the dying boy. Such pictures might help to stave off the evil day when compulsory service shall be decreed and shall enslave the hitherto freeborn Briton. They might serve to induce the man and the boy in the street to think twice before he goes over the way to take the King's shilling, and might lead him rather to join the group of patriotic Englishmen who labor and agitate to save their country from danger and disgrace."

Remonstrance Against Naval Increase.

The following remonstrance against the vast naval increase which the Navy Department will ask of Congress this winter has been put in circulation in Boston and vicinity, and has already been signed by many prominent citizens without reference to party relations. It will be forwarded to Washington soon after the meeting of Congress. Similar remonstrances ought to be sent from every quarter of the nation.

"*To the President, the Secretary of the Navy, and to the Members of Congress:*

"We regret to learn that the estimates for the navy for the coming fiscal year aggregate nearly one hundred millions of dollars. This is about five times the amount expended only ten years ago. The new estimates amount to an average cost of over six dollars for every family in the country. Half this sum applied to education would support five thousand manual training schools at nearly ten thousand dollars apiece throughout the United States.

"We believe that it is needless extravagance to take for this purpose anything like one hundred millions out of the pockets of the people, most of whom never see a warship.

"We hold that the maintenance of a vast machinery of war is not only a serious burden upon the people, but a positive menace to the peace of the world.

"For more than a hundred years the United States has borne the honorable tradition of a nation which had no need of great armaments. We urge all those who believe in justice, good-will and humanity as the great safeguards of the interests of the nation, to exert their influence to maintain this high distinction."

Friends' Peace Conference.

The programme is already published of a General Peace Conference of American Friends to be held in Philadelphia the 12th, 13th and 14th of this month. Friends of the United States and Canada, of different bodies and shades of belief, will be represented in the meeting. This is the first time that such a united conference of the Friends of the entire continent on the subject of peace has ever been held. Great interest in the conference has manifested itself, and the occasion promises to be one of unusual importance for the cause of peace. The subjects for discussion cover nearly every phase of the peace question. The list of participants in the programme contains the names of a number of the ablest men and women in the denomination. President Sharpless of Haverford College, Dr. Rufus M. Jones, editor of the *American Friend*, James Wood of the New York Historical Society, President Thomas of Bryn Mawr, Howard M. Jenkins, editor of the *Friends Intelligencer*, Dr. George A. Barton of Bryn Mawr, Dr. Jesse H. Holmes of Swarthmore, President Tebbetts of California, Mrs. Bailey, superintendent of the Peace Department of the W. C. T. U., President Unthank of Wilmington College, Ohio, President Rosenberger of Iowa, Dr. Richard H. Thomas of Baltimore, Josiah W. Leeds of Philadelphia, Prof. Elbert Russell of Indiana, Augustine Jones of Providence, R. I., Dr. O. E. Jenney of Baltimore, President Stanley of Kansas, Dr. Wm. L. Pearson of Iowa, Mary Chawner Woody of North Carolina, President Birdsall of Swarthmore, Philip C. Garrett of Philadelphia, Joshua L. Bailey, president of the National Temperance Society, P. W. Raidabaugh, head of the Friends Publishing Association, Arthur Perry of Boston, with others of equal prominence, will present papers or otherwise participate in the exercises. Among Christian bodies, the Friends have always been foremost in consistent opposition to war as unchristian and unnecessary, and in the advocacy of peaceful means of settling disputes between nations. This conference ought to awaken deeper and wider interest in the cause of peace among Christians of all names throughout the nation, among many of whom this most important subject has often been practically ignored.

Brevities.

. . . It is reported from Mexico City that Bolivia and Peru have concluded a general arbitration treaty, accepting beforehand, as a court of arbitration, that which may be established by the present Pan-American Conference.

. . . "Truly, he who kills numbers of men should mourn over them and weep over them, and a victorious battle should be celebrated with the same rites as are appointed for a funeral." *Lao-Tsze, Chapter XXXI. 550 B. C.*

. . . The peace movement in France has lost one of its most devoted and capable workers through the tragic death of Mr. Léon Marillier, a lecturer in the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes* at the Sorbonne. He was one of the prominent figures in the Paris Peace Congress last year, and was general secretary of the French International Arbitration Society. Mr. Marillier died from pneumonia contracted from the effects of passing ten hours struggling with an oar for his life on the water, after being wrecked. His wife and thirteen others were drowned at the time of the boat-wreck.

. . . In the Chilean Chamber of Deputies on the 7th of November the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that the alarmist rumors regarding the relations between Chile and Argentina were absolutely without foundation, and that all questions in controversy would be satisfactorily settled.

. . . An anti-dueling Congress was held at Leipzig, Germany, on the 19th of October, under the presidency of Prince Charles Von Löwenstein. The declaration against the duel made by the Glasgow Peace Congress has received the signatures of 9000 persons in Europe, 116 of whom are from the German aristocracy and 160 are jurists and other eminent men.

. . . As a result of the war in South Africa, British consols have fallen from 114 in 1897 to 91 on November 6 just past, a difference of 23. And another huge issue of consols is in sight, which will carry the price lower still. British moral prestige has fallen much more than the consols.

. . . The Czar of Russia has again shown his humane and benevolent spirit by summoning thirty leading Poles to meet him at Spala, that he may hear their statement of the grievances of the population of Russian Poland. The Czar is reported to have wept like a child when the State Council carried over his head the measures for the Russianization of Finland.

. . . Chile's offer of mediation between Venezuela and Colombia has been accepted by President Castro of the former, who declined the good offices of the United States in August last. Why this declination of Venezuela's President to accept our government's good offices should be considered by anybody in Washington as an insult to the United States is not easy to understand. It is not difficult to guess his reasons.

. . . The appellate division of the Supreme Court of Nicaragua has sustained the decision of the arbitrators in declaring that the English company which had obtained the concession has forfeited the right to the exclusive steam navigation of the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua.

. . . In the concentration camps in South Africa the death-rate (annual) per thousand for June was 109, for July 180, for August 214, for September 264. Among the children the death-rate per 1,000 rose from 159 in June to the appalling figure of 433 in September.

. . . Bulgaria has now named her members of the Hague International Court of Arbitration. She has appointed but two. They are Mr. M. Danef, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Stantchef, the Diplomatic Agent at St. Petersburg.

. . . The Committee of the Peace Society (London) have sent copies of Dr. W. E. Darby's "International Tribunals," the book which the members of the Hague Conference found so useful, to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, for presentation to the members of the Pan-American Congress.

. . . It is reported from Rome that King Victor Emanuel III. has accepted the office of arbitrator in the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Brazil. This has given great satisfaction in the Italian capital.

. . . According to the new Manchurian convention, drawn by Mr. Lessar, Russian minister at Peking, and Li Hung Chang, before the latter's death, Russia agrees to return to China during the current year the three provinces north of the Sungari river, and to withdraw gradually from the other two provinces within two years.

. . . William C. Dennis, a graduate of Earlham College, Indiana, a Master of Arts from Harvard University, and a graduate of the Harvard Law School, has been selected by Albert K. Smiley as permanent general secretary of the Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference. We do not see how the choice could have been bettered.

. . . The new Hay-Pauncefote canal treaty was signed at Washington on the 18th of November. Its contents are not officially made public. But from what is known, the new convention abrogates the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and concedes to the United States the sole and full right to build, control, guard, fortify and maintain the impartial use of the canal to all nations on equal terms. If this is true, it is a much inferior document to the one of last year. The English papers express the opinion that Great Britain has yielded everything and got nothing in return. We shall await with interest the publication of the text of the treaty.

. . . Li Hung Chang's death, the first week in November, takes away the greatest Chinaman of the age. He was considered by General Grant one of the four greatest statesmen whom he met during his trip round the world. In international affairs Earl Li was practically the whole of China. The government did not like him, because of his progressive ideas, but could not carry on any important negotiations without him. He represented both the old China and the new, and with him probably passes the type of statesmen which he represented.

Which?

By J. A. Edgerton.

Christ or Cæsar? By God or Mammon? Which one shall it be?
Will you follow Mars and Moloch, or the Prince of Peace?
Do you long for greed and conquest, wrong and butchery,
Or a golden age to come when war and hate shall cease?

You may sneer; but what of that? You cannot sneer down right.
You can't answer God by jeers, or laugh the truth away.
Over all there is a standard that is infinite,
While your prejudice and hate last only for a day.

War is murder, gloss it and disguise it as you will.
War is right if murder is, and wrong if murder's wrong.
Down the ages thunders the command, "Thou shalt not kill,"
That will last, unmodified, as long as time is long.

War is manly, say you? And so once was murder thought;
Dueling more recently and bruising yet to-day;
But as we ascend the scale a nobler view is caught,
And the moods and passions of our childhood pass away.

No, that man is truly manly who within his breast
Crushes out the brute and seeks to follow after right,
Strives to benefit his kind and give the world his best;
And, in spite of hostile tongues, pursues the higher light.

Brave the soldier is, I grant, and worthy of applause:
But there's other bravery than on the battlefield.
Brave is he who stands by what he deems a righteous cause,
And, in spite of jeers, abuse and slander, will not yield.

Higher than your prejudice, your passion, or your greed,
Higher than your savage lust for conquest or for war,
Higher than your petty standards and your narrow creed,
Stands the precious law of love, supreme forevermore.

Christ or Cæsar? God or Mammon? Which one shall it be?
Greed and murder, hate and conquest, or the Lord's command?
Ancient lies that bound us, or the truth that makes us free?
Underneath which flag, my brother, will you take your stand?

Coming Days.

BY EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

"Rise, O days, from your fathomless deeps, till you loftier, fiercer sweep."—*Whitman.*

Rise, O days, from your fathomless deeps, till you loftier, fiercer sweep!
Rise, O days of the past, from your graves in the depth of oblivion deep!
Rise, O days yet to be, and ascend; ascend in the sight of mankind
Till the pulse of your power shall thrill — ecstatic'ly thrill us, so blind,
With the vision of peoples released from the thraldom of Greed and of Fear,
With millennium days. Oh, rejoice when the Justice of Man shall appear!

Rise, O days, from your fathomless deeps, till you loftier, fiercer sweep!
Rise, O days, till you sweep from our sight present days when the weak must weep,
Present days of delirious joys — joys built on the woes of the race:
Sweep, in your God-sent fierceness, sweep! and blot out all these signs of disgrace;
These indelible stains of the poor and the sick unrelieved! Oh, haste!
Haste, ye days of the Justice of Man, and give us of heaven foretaste.

Mine eyes have seen the rising of the days of vengeance, dread,
When the stroke of the avenger falls, and dead are piled on dead —
And earth is made a charnel house, as now 'tis house of woe.
(E'en though the dancers laugh and sing, they are aware 't is so.)
Stern Death is hast'ning on!

Mine eyes have seen the hast'ning of the Great Destroyer, grim,
Who 'll overturn War's chalice, which is filled beyond the brim,
And drown the world that takes the sword in blood which they have spilt,
And add the bitterness of tears shed for a nation's guilt.
Lo, life 's advancing now!

Mine eyes have seen th' advancing of a new and God-like race
To soon supplant the one that now knows not Love's peaceful face;
A race of men and women strong to right the wrongs of all,
And rev'rently to bow the head; advance where Truth may call:
Lo, God is with men then!

The Dangers of Patriotism.

BY X. A. P.

Much as patriotism has been talked about, shouted about and bled over, it has, curiously enough, received almost no serious study. Few people, in the face of the tirade of abuse raised against any one venturing to question its supreme virtuousness and right to command, have had the courage to make, and attach their names to, a critical examination of its nature and worth. Most of the monographs on the subject have been of a compromising character, where they have not been mere laudatory rhetoric. Exceptions have certainly existed; but the few opponents of patriotism as ordinarily understood have for the most part stopped short of anything like a critical study, and have satisfied themselves with simple denunciation. Even Tolstoy, whose total rejection of patriotism as essentially and always an evil is well known, does not seem to have gone deeply into the nature of the subject, but has taken the immense mischiefs resulting from current patriotism as sufficient evidence that what is commonly called by that name is all that is possible in the way of patriotism.

"Patriotism and Ethics,"* by John George Godard, just published in London by Grant Richards, meets, therefore, a real need. It is one of the works which has been brought into existence by the South African War. But it treats of the war only incidentally, by way of illustration. It is an examination of the whole subject of patriotism, both theoretically and practically, from the point of view of current ethics. The author's aim seems to be to bring about such transformation in opinion as to the character of patriotism as will hereafter prevent a repetition of a great number of wrongs which have heretofore been wrought in its name. He states his case fairly, and does not misrepresent the positions which he criticises. His treatment is vigorous, thorough and practically exhaustive, except that in his final chapter on "The Higher Ideal" he seems to fail to reach the truest and most satisfactory conclusion as to the final disposition which is to be made of patriotism.

As a definition of patriotism he accepts "love of country" or "pride of nationality" (not at all synonymous terms) as simplest and least liable to objection. A simpler and truer phrasing would be "natural attachment to country." The sentiment in itself as sentiment is, in his view, neither virtuous nor vicious, that is, has no moral character. Its character depends entirely upon the way in which it is used. This fundamental estimate he does not quite retain at the last, but seems to reach the conclusion that the sentiment is only capable of resulting in viciousness, whereas he ought to have seen that a sentiment which is not intrinsically bad is capable of serving as a basis for good.

In the chapter on "Patriotism and the Down Grade" Mr. Godard points out how its exclusiveness, which he considers "of the essence of the sentiment," starts patriotism on the down grade. It "erects barriers between different sections of the great human family, and establishes a kind of national caste. Considered in regard to the world as a whole, it is anti-social. It introduces a

* Patriotism and Ethics. By John George Godard. London: Grant Richards. 12mo, cloth. 373 pages.

discriminating factor, and thus has the effect of dwarfing sympathy." The assumption that patriotism is essentially exclusive seems hardly in accord with his allowance that "there is a legitimate field for it," so long as men continue to be grouped together in nationalities. For in social affairs of this nature, that which is essentially exclusive can never be right.

Its exclusiveness, he goes on to say, leads in its first stage to international distrust. Nations, even if honest, do not get credit for their honesty. The distrust passes "by easy downward gradations to contempt and intolerance, and to arrogance and deceit." "Patriotism blinds the eyes both to the merits of other nations and the demerits of one's own, and therefore deprives international conduct of the advantages which flow from wholesome criticism." "The result can only be moral deterioration. Intolerance and conceit are not less despicable in a nation than in individuals, and are generally more mischievous."

The next stage reached in the downward course is that "of jealousy and envy, and anon of hatred and revenge." "Probably it would be difficult to name any power which does not on the whole cordially hate at least one other power, and possibly more than one." "The patriotic flame is never fiercer than when fed by hatred, and the fraternity which is identified with patriotism is largely of that barbaric character which springs from a common enmity." "Patriotism can never accept a rebuff, and it never forgives an injury." How true all this is of the selfish, sentimental patriotism of the day which reigns and blusters everywhere! The author holds that war is ethically justifiable when and only "when it is purely defensive and when it is purely remedial" (cases of which kind of war would be as difficult to find as needles in haystacks). Patriotism, on the contrary, "justifies all war, and justifies it to each of the combatants." "My patriotism declares my country's cause just; my enemy's patriotism declares his country's cause just. And, patriotism being regarded as a virtuous sentiment, the battlefield presents the astounding spectacle of immorality doing its very worst in the name of morality!"

Mr. Godard then discusses all the pacific efforts — in the way of diplomatic investigation, arbitration, etc.— which nations are under obligation to make before going to war. If they do not discharge these obligations, "which their own ethical code clearly imposes," "then they are in fact debasing themselves to the level of the veriest savages." "Terribly pernicious is the influence of patriotism in connection with international disputes; for the distinct obligations which ethics enjoins rarely receive more than scant recognition." "Pride of nationality not only militates against strenuous efforts to avert war, but it often induces strenuous efforts to provoke war. To demonstrate one's country's power, and to make its enemies lick the dust, is the supreme gratification of the patriotic spirit." "Patriotism seems to be largely fed on lies, and to swallow them with avidity." "Patriotism is the parent of war,— and it is the parent of unjust war. It induces a total disregard of the ethical duties imposed upon a nation before declaring or provoking war, and it thus instigates to the capital crime of civilization."

As illustrating the manner in which the author contends that patriotism leads to the ignoring of the Christianity which so many nations profess, one passage from the chapter on "Patriotism and Christianity" will suffice:

> "There is no injunction which the Founder of Christianity laid down, there is no rule of conduct which he enunciated, which is not disregarded — nay oftentimes tabooed and ridiculed — if mentioned in connection with international politics. Which of the nations has yet inscribed upon the walls of its Foreign Office the commandment 'Love your enemies'? and with what sneers and merriment would the suggestion of such an inscription be received? Where is the country that has sought to merit the title of 'children of God' by persistently recognizing that the peacemakers are blessed? And is it Great Britain which is poor in spirit? And is it by meekness that she has managed to acquire more than eleven million square miles of the earth's surface? We might extend the catechism until it exhausted the injunctions of the Great Teacher, and we should find that not one of such injunctions was made the basis of international conduct; and that men who profess to be Christians, when acting collectively totally disregard the principles they profess, in their attitude towards other collective bodies."

The influence of patriotism on liberty Mr. Godard holds, in a subsequent chapter, to be no less baneful. It "not only rends ethics and religion, but it exhibits suicidal tendencies, and turns and rends itself." It leads to bigoted intolerance of minorities; to suppression of freedom of speech, as illustrated in the recent breaking up of meetings in England. It "ultimately lands its enthusiastic worshippers in bondage and anarchy." "My country, may she always be in the right, but my country right or wrong,— unless a man is prepared to subscribe to this monstrous doctrine, let him be anathema, maranatha; for the unpardonable sin is the sin against patriotism. He must not think his country wrong, or, if he do, he must at least play the hypocrite and abstain from saying so. And if he decline to recognize in the *vox populi* the *vox Dei*, if he venture to think his country is not infallible, if he dare to say that she is in the wrong, and if he try to recall her to the path of rectitude, then let him be silenced at all cost; for patriotism must be vindicated though the heavens should fall." That this is a true description of the extremes to which patriotism goes, all the time thinking that it is acting nobly, everybody knows. But what is this but exalting it above ethics, above religion, above liberty, above right, above God, and making it the supreme Lord of life and conduct?

Patriotism cannot, therefore, promote the general welfare of the country. It "has very little to say upon home affairs." It devotes itself almost exclusively to foreign affairs. "When patriotism is in the ascendency, and when the nation is absolutely impregnated with it, purely internal affairs are almost forgotten, and all reform is practically suspended." "The people clamor for bread, and patriotism gives them a stone. If they lack sustenance, it offers them glory. If they demand reform, it points to empire. If they seek prosperity, it deludes them with prestige."

The author believes that the fundamental reason why patriotism subverts ethics and results in so many and great evils is the error of regarding it as necessarily virtuous. If that is the case, then there is no way of escaping its evil consequences. "As the inevitable result of such a misconception, patriotism is elevated into a moral standard; and it is therefore taken for granted

that, in obeying its dictates, men are obeying the dictates of virtue; and the vicious conduct which it actually induces is thus positively regarded as virtuous."

The author examines in order the claims that patriotism is virtuous, because it fosters self-sacrifice, advances liberty, builds up empire, promotes culture, and advances civilization. He finds that the self-sacrifice induced by patriotism is often made for ignoble ends, that it is caused by a spirit of hatred, revenge or conquest, in which cases it cannot be virtuous. "If the animating sentiment is a desire to 'pot niggers,' to 'exterminate vermin,' to 'wipe something off the slate,' to make the enemy 'sing psalms out of the wrong side of his mouth,' or to 'drive his cant down his throat with a dose of lyddite and three inches of bayonet to keep it there,' the conduct is *ab initio* immoral." Even where patriotism leads to altruism, the altruism is necessarily restricted, as the result of reflex egoism, and therefore in a true sense tainted with selfishness. Pure altruism is unrestricted.

Of patriotism as a promoter of liberty and culture and civilization, he does not find much to say. These are for the most part the result of other motives. "In practice patriotism is antagonistic to general liberty. The true conception of liberty involves the idea of reciprocity — the enjoyment by others of the same freedom which is claimed for oneself." "The exclusive nature of the sentiment dominates all the sentiments that spring from it; and exclusiveness is foreign to the true conception of liberty. The influence of patriotism in extending and consolidating empire is in the main anything but good. "Empire is the outcome of conquest,— the conquest of other races, the appropriation of their territory and the destruction of their independence." As for culture, "the tendency is for patriotism to arrest the growth of culture. Patriotic fervor, when brought into full play, acts like a scorching sun, and the arid atmosphere is not congenial to the arts and sciences. Periods of excitement and passion are not favorable to the development of either beauty or research."

The conclusion of this very able book, in which the immoralities and immense crimes of current patriotism are developed with extraordinary insight and precision, and with ample illustration, is that it is hopeless to attempt to divert patriotism from the evil channels in which it runs, and impossible to utilize it simply for moral ends. Even if we could divert patriotism into an ethical groove, he thinks nothing would be gained. Love of humanity includes love of country, as the greater the less; and the cultivation of love of humanity will bring about the achievement of all and more than that of country can do. "The ideal which shall inspire men to strive to make the world better must be of an infinitely broader and nobler character than that of patriotism. It must be an ideal which shall be based, not upon the locality of birth, but upon the fact of birth; not upon geography, but upon anthropology; not upon racial affinities, but upon human affinities; not upon what is peculiar to a nation, but upon what is common to nations."

Is it not true, nevertheless, that when this noble ideal possesses a man and rules his thought and life perfectly, attachment to one's land, "love of country," will still exist, though in an altogether new way? Is it not possible, therefore, to so direct the attachment to country, which as natural sentiment has no moral character, so as to make it virtuous? Cannot citizens imbued with this natural attachment be led, first, to use their utmost efforts to keep the nation from all wrong and to induce it to be righteous and just in all its dealings with other nations; and, secondly, to feel it to be its duty to give itself self-sacrificingly in the service and for the good of others? Certainly. And in this way patriotism, like a young child, who has not yet begun a moral course of bad or good, may be saved from becoming an immoral, lawless, unchristian, ruinous thing, as it to such a large extent is, and trained and developed into one of the purest and loftiest and most constructive of virtues.

This is where Mr. Godard's grand discussion ought, according to his own premises, to have terminated, and one is distinctly disappointed, on closing the book, that it did not do so. The vicious patriotism which is current everywhere he splendidly condemns and casts out, but he seems not to have seen the possibility of a virtuous and every way noble one, which would in no wise retard, but powerfully aid, the growth of the ideal love of fellow-creatures everywhere.

To His Majesty, Victor Emanuel III., King of Italy.

The address of the Lombard Peace Union to the young King of Italy on his recent visit to Milan, alluded to in our last issue, was so admirable in spirit and contents that, though in one or two particulars it does not represent our position, we give a translation of it in full.

Among the various utterances that will come to you on your first visit to this city, rich in trade, illustrious through its former exhibitions of indomitable patriotism and in which the struggle of parties is most intense, be pleased, Sire, to accept the wishes of a Society which lives outside of parties, but whose aspirations answer the greatest needs of our time and find a sympathetic echo among every civilized people.

Our Society has in its ranks men of different political and religious opinions, but all are patriots, the oldest of whom fought under the banner of your illustrious grandfather and in the armies of Garibaldi for the independence and unity of Italy.

But the Society believes that the dolorous series of armed conflicts ought to be closed among civilized nations, and that questions of nationality and whatever new controversies may arise between states can be settled according to reason and the methods of justice.

For many years the chief effort of our Society was directed toward turning aside the peril of a great war, which every spring appeared on the horizon of Europe. Now such a war is no longer to be feared. Economic problems and the interests of the laboring classes have taken, in the deliberations of governments, the place formerly occupied by the problems of war. It seems, then, that the hour has arrived to take in hand resolutely the better harmonization of the interests of the populations with the institutions which control them, the ideals of civilization and peace, — which all the state and government leaders say that they desire, — by the means by which they may be best and most speedily brought into harmony.

Being therefore assured that we speak the sentiments

of the great majority of the thinking and laboring people of the country, and that we voice the needs of our time, we ask:

1. That the national army be constituted and directed with a view to defense only.

2. That military instruction — as complementary to civil education — begin outside of the army some years previous to the age of conscription, and that training in target-practice be made obligatory through the whole period of youth.

3. That the duration of service in the standing army in time of peace be reduced to the minimum required for the completion of military instruction, which, according to the opinion of most competent experts, for the infantry and artillery, can be placed at one year.

The many millions of expense which would be saved by this reform would assure the economic restoration of the nation and render possible the relief so often promised to the classes which more and more feel the need of it.

These reforms, we well know, do not depend upon you, Sire, devoted as you are to the method of representative government. But we have presented them because, foreseeing that before long the great parliamentary contests in regard to them will be waged, we desire that your Majesty may then be able to see on which side are found the practical spirit, good sense, intelligence, and patriotism, and on which the spirit of partisanship, prejudice and improvidence.

But if in internal politics neutrality among parties is the rôle becoming a sovereign who desires the success of parliamentary government, recent history and daily occurrences convince us that in the relations with the heads of foreign states, the position of a constitutional king is at all times most important. For this reason, chiefly, our Society to-day lays before you, Sire, its wishes and hopes.

The multiplied, constant interests which the various nations have in common, especially those of the same continent, cause one to feel at every turn the necessity of arrangements adapted to their better promotion and to the settlement of the questions arising from them. The concert and intervention of the great powers for the pacification of Crete and the settlement of the Chinese troubles are an illustration of the necessity of much closer relations among the nations of Europe, such as will become at no remote day a true and proper juridic union. A notable step toward this union was the institution of the Hague Court of International Arbitration, due to the noble initiative of Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia. But such an institution was only a part of the great design presented to the civilized world on the 28th of August, 1898, in the Circular of the great Chancellor Mouraview. The conference of representatives of the various powers, suggested in this circular, had also the explicitly expressed purpose of "putting an end to the incessant armaments" and of assuring international peace "by means of united consecration of the principles of equity and right, on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples."

The proposal for disarmament was found to be too advanced, and it failed through the strong opposition of the delegation of a single great state. But since that time the noble idea has gained much ground, and it is probable that before long either Russia or some other state, impelled by public opinion, will bring forward the proposal of disarmament.

In case this happens, there is no doubt, Sire, that your adherence will be among the foremost. But our Society has a greater hope and a more ardent wish than this, and that is that, instead of awaiting the initiative of others, your Majesty will take it yourself.

Italy, which under pagan Rome, followed up its victories of force with laws of equity and of justice; which, under Christian Rome, proclaimed and tried to realize the union of the whole human race; which furnished the precursors and the greatest legislators of international law; which recently accomplished the purest of revolutions and gave a pledge of amnesty to its enemies of yesterday, — Italy has not risen to a state of freedom, in the name of right and humanity, in order to follow forever the lead of others in things which most deeply affect her own life. She owes it to herself, to her past, to the great men of thought and action who lead in her regeneration, to take a special and leading part in the further growth of civilization.

The thought, O Sire, of the smallness of our country in comparison with the greater powers will certainly not be considered by you a disadvantage. Nations to-day are estimated and have value not so much by the vastness of their territory or the number of their inhabitants as by the moral force which animates them and the ideas for which they stand. If little Holland was considered worthy to be the seat of the first international juridic institution of the world, Italy may prevent that institution from becoming a fruitless tree by uttering to the rulers of the nations a solemn word which will re-awaken in them the fruitful idea from which it sprang. Say this word, Sire. May your Majesty take upon yourself this initiative.

Kingdoms and republics disappear. Ministers, even the best of them, pass away. But the ideas which mark a new stage in the progress of civilization endure and surround with immortal glory the generous and the brave who make themselves their propagators.

New Books.

Politics and the Moral Law. By Gustav Ruemelin, late Chancellor of the University of Tübingen. Translated from the German. Edited with an introduction and notes by Frederick W. Holls, D. C. L. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, 75 cents.

The fact that Mr. Holls has seen fit to connect his name with the English translation of this address will secure for it numerous readers among that large and intelligent class of persons who are increasingly interested in the problem of the relation of the moral law to politics. His notes occupy fully one-third of the book, and his discussion in one of these notes of the duty of the state to observe its treaties — a subject touched upon in the body of the work — is a very sensible one.

Of Chancellor Ruemelin's argument it is difficult to speak intelligently without giving the whole of it. His position is that politics is a law unto itself; that self-interest is the principle by which the state's life must be directed, and therefore politics cannot be subject to the

moral law which rules in individual lives. A careful reading of his thought indicates very clearly that he is trying to make his theory square with what states actually do in their supposed self-interest rather than with what they ought to do to their true interest.

We have nowhere seen the doctrine that the moral law cannot be followed in statecraft declared with more cold-bloodedness. Possibly this is in part accounted for by the fact that the address was delivered soon after the Franco-Prussian War. However, there are passages in the address which reveal the author's doubt of the correctness of his theory. He declares that "politics and morality hold coördinate positions, both being included in the higher conceptions of ethics," whatever that may mean. If this is true, one cannot help querying how "the moral law in the wider sense" can produce such diametrically opposite results in politics and in common social life, how falsehood and deceit are wrong in the latter and right in some of the movements of the former. The untenableness of his theory further manifests itself to his consciousness when he says that "the historical development of politics and of the moral law shows a continual *rapprochement*"; that "there is at least an ever-present tendency to introduce more and more of the moral law into politics." Why, if his theory of coördinateness be correct, is the *rapprochement* entirely from one side?

The discussion is certainly a most stimulating one. It raises questions on every page. Those who believe that politics is not in any way bound by the moral law, that the Golden Rule cannot be applied in international affairs, that a state could not be conducted on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, will find their doctrine formulated by Chancellor Ruemelin with a plainness and boldness that will almost give them the shivers. Those who believe the contrary will find, on reading his candid statements, ample opportunity to restate to themselves their own views, with perhaps more assurance of their correctness than they have ever had before.

Peace or War in South Africa. By A. M. S. Methuen, London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex Street, W. C. Price, one shilling and postage.

This work of 270 pages, the sale of which has been large in England, has reached its sixth edition. It has been highly praised by both Liberals and Conservatives for its moderation of tone and its patriotic purpose. Its object is to provide a concise narrative of the events which preceded and caused the war, and to point out the way in which an honorable peace may be established. It describes the errors of the British Ministry, both in their diplomacy and their conduct of the war. It gives material for a proper estimate of the Boers. It sets forth the odiousness of the methods of warfare adopted by the British, and the "terrible responsibility" of those who insist on "a fight to a finish," in opposition to the advice of Lord Kitchener, the one man acquainted with the position in South Africa. The melancholy failure of Lord Milner, the unaccountable ignorance of South African affairs shown by the British government, the rebellion in Cape Colony, the loss of respect among foreign peoples, the economic future of South Africa, the troubles certain to follow from "government without consent," the British future "dark and big with storms," are set forth in vivid and yet in no extravagant terms. There is probably no better book for those who wish to get at the facts and form a cool and fair judgment of the whole South African situation. We have seen nowhere a nobler appeal to the true England, now seemingly smothered, than is found in some of the closing passages of this little volume.

"There is an England which is not the England of the music hall and of the shouting streets; not the England who lifts her timid cheek to the strong and turns to crush the little nations. Let some master-builder come forth, and on the wreck of our ancient name and of our broken pride raise up anew our England, the dear England of our history and our hopes, chivalrous and merciful, silent and self-reliant, scornful of vain boasting and abuse, lover of free nations, defender of the weak. There is yet time to make our choice, but the full tide is ebbing."

The Manse Gate. By "Tubal-Cain." London. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square. Cloth: 336 pages. Price, six shillings.

We do not know who "Tubal-Cain" is, but the author of this excellent story ought to have taken to himself a name smacking less of the remote and ignorant past. We have not read for a long time anything in the way of fiction in which the true Christian spirit is exhibited and maintained in a clearer, more robust and healthy way. It is a story of the struggle in British opinion during the past three years in the matter of the South African war; but in scope it is much wider than this, involving the whole question of the unchristian character of war. The story is full of incident, of movement, and for the most part displays a fine sense of human nature and conduct. The hero, a young Scotchman, is a staunch advocate of peace principles, which he maintains in a natural and manly way. The love-making part of the book, if it can be called such, is so worked out as to teach high and sane views of love and marriage. We should like to see "The Manse Gate" put into the hands of thousands of boys and girls. It would make an admirable Christmas present.

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ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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